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1908.

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The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

JANUARY—FEBRUARY, 1908.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

The Rome Anti-Slavery Congress.

By JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER, LL.B.

SOME notice of this Congress having already appeared in the *Reporter*, this sketch will be mainly devoted to the special object for which the Italian Society asked our co-operation, and on account of which the writer was sent to represent the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society at the Congress. A few introductory words, however, as to the Congress itself may be useful.

The Italian and French Anti-Slavery Societies were two of those founded by the late Cardinal Lavigerie, and the only two which are still vigorous and active. The former possesses in Commendatore Simonetti, and the latter in Baron du Teil, an able and energetic Secretary. These two gentlemen are now, I am glad to say, corresponding members of our own Society.

Both Societies are Roman Catholic institutions, looking to the Pope for guidance and blessing, and attaching great importance to the religious aspect of the anti-slavery crusade. A paper read by Father Genocchi, on Christianity and Slavery, traced in a very interesting way—so far as my slight knowledge of Italian enabled me to follow it—the relations between the Christian Church and slavery,* and ended with a reference to the abolitionist movement in this country, pointing out that its leaders were two eminent Christians, Wilberforce and Buxton. I was glad to be able to tell

*This subject was also ably dealt with as regards the attitude towards slaves of the early Church, by Professor Marucchi, the highest authority on the Catacombs, in an address given to members of the Congress, introductory to a visit under his guidance to the Calixtine Catacomb; unfortunately, having been detained by Committee work, I only arrived when the address was concluded.

the Congress that descendants of these two distinguished men are President and Treasurer of our Society to-day, and that we seek to follow in their footsteps, taking up the work of emancipation not merely as a humanitarian, but also as a Christian duty. It was pleasant to realise that, notwithstanding the differences between a convinced Protestant like myself and the fervent Catholics by whom I was surrounded, there was a profound unity in our motives of action. I was made to feel this throughout, especially on the occasion of the private audience granted by the Pope to the more prominent members of the Congress, prior to the more public reception of the whole Congress, when I was assured that I should not be expected to kneel, and in fact the Pope shook hands with me, and accepted a pamphlet on the Congo question, with the utmost cordiality. The President of the Congress, Commendatore Tolli, was also extremely kind. He entertained a number of us at a banquet on the closing evening.

The detailed work of the Congress was conducted, according to Continental usage, in two Committees, whose decisions were afterwards reported to and accepted by the Congress at its final sitting. One of these Committees dealt with questions of internal organisation and work: its only resolution of interest in England was the proposal that their next quinquennial Congress should be international, and I understand that the leading members of the Italian Society would much like it to be held in London. M. du Teil and myself joined the second Committee, which dealt with external questions, and for our benefit its proceedings were conducted in French.

The activity of the Italian Anti-Slavery Society is almost wholly devoted to Tripoli, that is, the country lying between Egypt and Tunis. It has five agents posted at Benghazi, Derna, Tobrouk, Misrata, and Tripoli.

The last-named place is the point of embarkation for two slave routes, one from Mursuk, the other from Ghadames, and it is calculated that by these two routes alone 1,000 to 1,200 slaves are annually brought down from the interior. Thence they are shipped to ports on the other side of the Mediterranean, under various disguises. The Society also maintains agencies at Salonica, the Piræus, Canea (Crete), Constantinople, and two other intermediate places. By means of the information obtained through these agencies, the Society claims to have freed 1,300 slaves up to the present time.*

One great difficulty met with by these Italian agencies arises from the abuse of the "letters of freedom" provided for by the Brussels General

* The details are taken from the paper read by Cavaliere Prinzivalli, a translation of the greater part of which is contained in the French Anti-Slavery Society's *Revue* for December.

Act. These are delivered by the Ottoman authorities, sometimes to the slave traders, sometimes to the captains of vessels, and by describing the slaves as Ottoman subjects they serve to withdraw them from the control of European Consuls. As a matter of fact, the slaves almost always come either from the French or the Anglo-Egyptian Protectorate.

The best means of putting an end to these evasions had formed the subject of correspondence between the Secretaries of the Italian and French Societies prior to the Congress. The result of this correspondence, and of the further discussion in Committee at Rome, will be seen from the following resolutions adopted by the Rome Congress.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

"The Italian Anti-Slavery Congress meeting at Rome on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of December, 1907, with the presence and adhesion of representatives of the Anti-Slavery Societies of England and France.

"Considering that the Italian Anti-Slavery Society, to which was allotted, at the International Anti-Slavery Congress held in Paris 15th October, 1890, and following days, the particularly delicate mission of watching over the execution of the Brussels General Act in the region extending from Egypt to Tunis, cannot execute this task fully and satisfactorily without the kind assistance, not only of its own Government, but also of the other Governments interested, especially those of Great Britain and France, which exercise their protectorate or dominion in the adjoining territories;

"Commends to the Signatory Powers of the Brussels Act, and especially to those having Colonies in Africa in which slavery exists, the three following recommendations (*voeux*):—

"I. WITH REGARD TO THE IMPORTATION INTO TRIPOLI (*Tripolitaine*) OF SLAVES (*esclaves de traite*).

"Considering that it appears from the proceedings of the annual meeting of the French Anti-Slavery Society on the 28th June, 1907, that the Senoussi, a religious and military sect, settled in the Koufra oasis, have become the agents of an active trade in negro slaves between Wadai and Darfour, on the one side, and, on the other side, Abecher, El Facher, and Barca (*la Cyrénaïque*), especially the ports of Tobrouk and Solloun;

"The Congress expresses the hope (*émet le vœu*) that an understanding may be arrived at between the French Government and that of His Britannic Majesty, so that the measures taken by the military Commandant of Lake Chad, in the French sphere of influence, according to the letter addressed to the French Anti-Slavery Society by the Minister of the Colonies, M. Milliès-Lacroix, on the 27th August, 1907, and those announced by the Foreign Office, in its letter to the English Anti-Slavery Society on the 1st November, may be combined, in order to prevent the passage of slave

caravans, disguised as pilgrimages, on the frontiers of the Anglo-Egyptian and French Soudan."

"II. REGARDING THE LETTERS OF FREEDOM: Considering that, from the information given by the Agents of the Anti-Slavery Society of Italy, and from statements made in the press by travellers and residents, it appears that in Tripoli and Barca the sale of slaves (*esclaves de traite*) is still largely carried on; Considering more particularly that the letters of freedom (*lettres d'affranchissement*) introduced by the General Act of Brussels, are, by the way in which they are employed in Tripoli and Barca, without any guarantee, in the first place because these letters, far from insuring the liberation of the slaves are too often, on the contrary, a means of evading the watchfulness of the Consuls and the Agents of the Anti-Slavery Society, seeing that they come to be delivered to the holders of slaves to facilitate the embarkation or landing of these slaves, which enables the dealers to cross dangerous tracts of country with impunity; Secondly, because the letters of freedom impose on liberated slaves who are natives of regions subject to European nations, and, consequently, subjects by birth of these same nations, the Turkish nationality (contrary to Article 63 of the Brussels Act, which, considering repatriation to be the best lot for the liberated slave, is certainly opposed to a change of nationality, irreconcilable with the idea of repatriation), a measure which deprives liberated slaves of the protection of the Consuls of the nations to which they belonged by birth, and hands them over without appeal to the agents of the Turkish Government; The Congress expresses the hope that (1), infractions committed by the authorities of Tripoli, who need to be recalled to a strict application of the Brussels Act, should be reported by the Powers to the wisdom and justice of H.M. the Sultan; and that (2), these same Powers shall be asked to give instructions to their respective Consuls that, when letters of freedom are given, the place of origin of the slaves should be regarded, in order that that may have recourse, in case of need, to the protection of these Consuls."

"III. REGARDING THE DESTINY OF LIBERATED SLAVES: Considering it to be in the interests of humanity to provide for the destiny of imported and liberated slaves, in order that they may be repatriated, at any rate in small numbers, so that Art. 63 of the Brussels Act may not continue to be a dead letter: the Congress expresses the hope that each of the Powers which possess colonies in Africa and have hitherto interested themselves in repatriation of their slave subjects, victims of the trade, but liberated in Tripoli, should fix some amount in their respective State budgets, and that all the Anti-Slavery Societies interested should open subscription lists so as to form a common fund by which the Consular authorities should have the money needed for the inevitable expense of repatriating the slaves liberated by their means; Considering further that the funds so collected would, doubtless, be insufficient for the repatriation of all those liberated, at least, so long as the cases of slave-trade are not entirely stopped; The Congress

expresses the hope that freed slaves who are subjects of Colonial Powers who cannot be repatriated, instead of being left to the local authorities with the risk of falling back into a new slavery, should be placed in homes or agricultural or industrial institutions of an international character under the supervision of competent authorities, *i.e.*, of their respective Consuls. In these homes they would find the means of subsistence and of obtaining at the same time the sum necessary for their repatriation. The creation and working of these establishments would have to be studied, so that the expenses should be covered by each Power in proportion to the number of subjects admitted to the home."

After the Congress a letter was addressed by its President, who is also President of the Italian Anti-Slavery Society, to our President, expressing thanks for the part taken by our representative in the work of the Congress, and asking that the English Anti-Slavery Society would support the prayer contained in the above recommendations or resolutions, which had already been submitted to the Italian Government, by bringing them to the notice of His Majesty's Government.

They have accordingly been forwarded by the Committee to the Foreign Office, with the following covering letter :—

TO THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE, FOREIGN OFFICE.

6th January, 1908.

SIR,—In further reference to my letter to the Foreign Office of the 7th October last, and your reply dated November 1st, I now have the honour on behalf of my Committee, to forward, enclosed, a copy of the resolutions drawn up and passed at a recent Congress held in Rome, under the auspices of the Italian Anti-Slavery Society, to which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, as well as that of France, sent a representative.

The first resolution, as you will see, refers to the subject matter of my letter of the 7th October. The second resolution, as to the abuse of the letters of freedom established by the Brussels Act, relates to a matter which the Society has often had occasion to bring before the Foreign Office, and was the subject of a letter addressed by my Committee to the Marquis of Lansdowne on the 2nd February, 1905, when the grievance involved by the imposition of Turkish nationality on slaves brought into Tripoli from the spheres of influence of European Powers in the interior was especially mentioned.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society desire to endorse the proposals made in the first and second resolutions of the Congress, enclosed.

The question which is touched upon in the third resolution has not

previously been brought by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the notice of the Foreign Office, and my Committee respectfully recommend these proposals also, the adoption of which appears to them highly desirable, to the favourable consideration of His Majesty's Government.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) TRAVERS BUXTON.

REPLIES.

FOREIGN OFFICE,

January 22nd, 1908.

SIR,—I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant respecting the slave traffic in the Soudan.

In reply I am to state that His Majesty's Government are considering, in conjunction with the Sudanese Government, what steps can be taken to check this traffic, and that the other matters referred to in your letter are being inquired into.

I am to add that, according to the information in Sir E. Grey's possession, the export of slaves from the Tripolitan ports is now attended with considerable difficulty.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) W. LANGLEY.

The Secretary to

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

FOREIGN OFFICE,

January 30th, 1908.

SIR,—With reference to my letter of the 22nd inst., I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to inform you that he has received a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople respecting the question of the export of slaves from Tripoli to that port.

Sir N. O'Connor states that he has no information to the effect that any considerable number of slaves are landed at Constantinople, that they would have to be conveyed by Mahsousse steamers, whose voyages are far from frequent, and that no considerable number could arrive without His Majesty's Embassy becoming aware of the fact.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) W. LANGLEY.

The Secretary to

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The Congo Question.

THE mention of this question in the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament was a matter for encouragement to Congo reformers, but the present position is a difficult and complicated one, in view of the uncertainty of events in Belgium. The King's Speech assured us that the sole desire of His Majesty's Government "is to see the government of the Congo State humanely administered, in accordance with the spirit of the Berlin Act"; but in the face of M. Georges Lorand's outspoken article on Belgian opinion in the *Contemporary Review* for February, it is impossible to cherish with any warmth the hope expressed in the following words of the Speech—"that the negotiations now proceeding between the Sovereign of the Congo State and the Belgian Government will secure this object."

M. Lorand, who is one of those Belgian deputies who have studied the Congo question, and taken a real interest in its humanitarian side, tells us that the desire of the British Government to respect Belgian susceptibilities has entirely failed of its object; Belgian feeling has been wounded by British "interference" in what they consider to be their domestic affairs, and the motive of that action is represented as being purely selfish. Such an opinion, M. Lorand admits, could only have been brought about by the "profound ignorance" and "the extraordinary indifference which characterises Belgian public opinion in all that concerns the affairs of the Congo." The mass of the Belgian public take no interest in colonial affairs, and the King has consequently had a free hand. A certain number of better-informed politicians and others, who desired to put an end to monopolies on the Congo, proposed to curb King Leopold's autocracy by Belgian annexation, and a Parliamentary Commission was appointed, which took five years to get constituted and hold one sitting; but the Colonial Bill which was drawn up did not even mention the rights of the natives.

"The Belgians, to this day, know nothing and refuse to know anything, about the ill-treatment of the natives on the Congo. For this reason the English Government seems to be a prey to a singular delusion, when it expects that an annexation forced on Belgium will lead to the amelioration of the lot of the natives, and to reforms which it has not been able to obtain from the Congo State."

The point which is beginning to interest and move the Belgians, M. Lorand declares, is the *internal political problem* viewed from the constitutional side. But reforms would be costly, and the Belgian taxpayers, who care nothing about the glories of a Colonial Empire, would be strongly opposed

to the huge increase of taxation which annexation of the Congo on any terms which would involve the reversal of the present misrule and so satisfy the British Government, must of necessity involve. The Belgian people have not been consulted, and the present Chamber is absolutely without a mandate on the subject.

M. Lorand refers to the contract in the Treaty of Cession for the preservation of the *Fondation de la Couronne* as being contrary to Belgian law, limiting Belgian sovereignty and constituting in Belgium a State within the State. On this matter there is a distinctly hostile public opinion in Belgium which is likely to cause further postponements of the question. A new bargain has since been proposed by which the *Fondation* should be given up in name, and a special fund created to carry out the "public works" and embellishments which the King desires; this, the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent in Brussels wrote last month, was "accepted everywhere as a satisfactory, if not an ideal, arrangement." Surely this announcement must show the extreme danger of looking to the "Belgian solution" as affording real hope of reform. For even if the new proposals meant a reform in the Crown Domain (of which there is no evidence), the position of the natives in the remaining six-sevenths, or thereabouts, of the Congo State, would be in no way improved. The vital issues of the problem do not seem to be touched by the negotiations which are now going on in Brussels, and all the main evils of the present system of administration would but be perpetuated by annexation on such lines as these which are foreshadowed.

It is satisfactory to know, from the debates in both Houses of Parliament, that our Government fully recognise the deep seriousness of the situation, and we especially welcome Sir Edward Grey's strong pronouncement on February 26th, when, on behalf of the Government, he accepted Mr. Leif Jones' resolution. The Foreign Secretary declared that the Congo State "as it exists to-day, has morally forfeited every right to international recognition," and that the present authority is "perfectly hopeless." The choice of the Belgian people, as regards annexation, must be absolutely free, but it should be made with full knowledge of present conditions on the Congo. Sir E. Grey hailed the co-operation of the United States, which was evidenced by the report of their Consul-General, included in the important White paper just published (notice of which we are obliged to hold over), and finally named the end of May as the limit of waiting for Belgian proposals; *after that Great Britain would be prepared to take separate action.*

Two other recent events may be contemplated with unmixed satisfaction, viz., the great demonstration in favour of Congo Reform at the

Queen's Hall on the 21st February, and the appearance of Lord Cromer as an active champion of the cause.

The part taken by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London in the Queen's Hall Meeting, the representative character of the platform and the speakers, and the earnestness of the vast audience, were evidence that London is deeply roused on this great moral issue, and we are especially glad to see that the Brussels Press has not altogether overlooked the significance of the demonstration. The speech of Lord Cromer, in the House of Lords, is of immense value, coming, as it does, from an administrator of so much experience and acknowledged wisdom and success. Never, said Lord Cromer, had he seen or heard of misrule comparable to the abuses of the Congo, and he explained in lucid language the reasons for this unsparing condemnation. While disclaiming any desire for territorial advantage on the part of this country, he has not yet given up hope from the Belgian solution, but he deprecates excessive regard for the interests of the *concessionaires* in any arrangement that the Belgian Parliament makes, declaring that "the main thing is that we should destroy the present system," and that the Congo should be governed on such principles as commend themselves to the civilised world.

Slave Labour in Portuguese West Africa.

IN consequence of the pledges which have been definitely given by the Portuguese Government, in response to the representations which have been made by the British Government and cocoa firms, to institute reforms in the system of contract labour in the islands of San Thomé and Principe, the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society resolved to address a letter to the Portuguese Legation in London, a copy of which was also sent to the Foreign Office. The letter, a copy of which follows, has been acknowledged, with thanks for "the kindly expressions therein contained," by the Councillor of Legation, Senhor da Camera Manoel.

To the Secretary of the Portuguese Legation.

SIR,—The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has long taken a deep interest in the welfare of the native labourers in the colony of Angola and the Islands of San Thomé and Principe, and has deplored the evils which have been reported to exist in the system of contract labour prevailing there, especially those connected with the method by which the labourers are obtained from the interior, and the absence of proper provision for their repatriation. I am desired by the Committee of the Society to express to you the gratification with which they have learnt that the

Portuguese Government is intending to make a thorough investigation of the whole system with a view to removing its attendant evils and putting it on a more satisfactory basis. My Committee learn with satisfaction that the Portuguese Government is about to inquire into irregularities which exist in the present method of recruiting through irresponsible agents and to replace it by a proper Government system, revising it in such a way that it will also serve as a means of repatriation, and make it practicable for the native to return to his home in the interior. They are very glad to hear that the San Thomé planters have set aside a fund which is to be devoted to repatriating the labourers who have contracted for work on the plantations at the end of their term, thus showing readiness to support the Government in bringing about much-needed reforms.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are well aware of the difficulties which must be encountered in the endeavour to maintain efficient supervision over the recruiting of the natives in remote districts of the interior, and to bring about a reform in practices long established. I am directed to say that they will watch with attention and sympathetic interest the execution of the important and far-reaching reforms which are now definitely promised by the Government of Portugal, and will look hopefully for these measures to bear fruit in a closer adherence to the spirit of the General Act of Brussels throughout the colony of Angola and the islands of San Thomé and Principe.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) TRAVERS BUXTON, Secretary.

PARLIAMENTARY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *February 10th.*

SLAVE LABOUR ON COCOA PLANTATIONS.

Sir C. HILL asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he could state the result of the representations which were understood to have been made by the Foreign Office to the Portuguese Government on the subject of slave labour on the cocoa plantations of San Thomé and Principe.

Mr. CHURCHILL, who replied, said:—We learn from the Portuguese Government that fresh regulations are being drawn up, placing the recruitment of labourers for the plantations entirely and permanently under the control of Portuguese officials. Due provision is also to be made for repatriation. An official in whom complete confidence is placed by the Portuguese Government is to proceed to Angola shortly in order to superintend the inauguration of the new system.

British East Africa.

The following letter was received from the Colonial Office in acknowledgment of the resolution of the Committee regarding the Ordinance of Abolition in the Coast strip :—

DOWNING STREET,

December 18th, 1907.

SIR,—I am directed by the Earl of Elgin to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst., and to inform you that he has read with much pleasure the resolution of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, expressing their thanks to His Majesty's Government for the enactment of the Ordinance for the abolition of the legal status of slavery in the Coast strip of the East Africa Protectorate.

(2) With regard to the question of concubinage, I am to transmit to you the accompanying copies of letters which have passed between Bishop Tucker and the Governor on the subject. Lord Elgin considers that Sir James Sadler has given sufficient reasons for not interfering with the institution at present ; but instructions have been issued that the position of the women affected shall be carefully watched, so that, if necessity is shown, remedial measures may be introduced.

(3) I am to add that the Sultanate of Witu is included in the Coast strip for the purposes of this Ordinance.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) R. L. ANTROBUS.

The Secretary to

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Slavery in Pemba.

THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR paid his first visit to the island of Pemba last January, and was received with great enthusiasm by the people. We are glad to learn that his Highness visited the Friends' Industrial Mission and received an address from the members, Mr. C. Ernest Morland being one of the signatories. The address made the following important reference to the slavery question :—

"Those of us who have lived during the last eight or ten years in Pemba can testify to the great improvement in the life and condition of the people here since the abolition of the legal status of slavery, inaugurated by your Highness's illustrious father in 1897, from which we date the beginning of this era of prosperity. A principal object for the establishment of this

Mission in 1897 was—to assist slaves in obtaining and making the best use of their freedom; inculcating habits of industry, self-reliance, and thrift; and educating children and others, by means of schools and workshops, to become intelligent workmen and good citizens. But we deeply regret that even after these ten years slavery still exists both in name and in fact, even children being called and brought up to consider themselves slaves, though legally free. As we feel that this will not cease until the name and stigma of slavery are done away with, we very earnestly pray your Highness for their immediate and total abolition."

In his reply, the Sultan graciously acknowledged "the devotion with which the members" of the Mission had "identified themselves with the welfare of Pemba," and added:—

"The task of completing the emancipation of slavery, begun by my late dear father, shall, under God's Providence and in His good time, be carried forward to its due and ultimate conclusion."

Northern Nigeria.

REPORT FOR 1906-7.*

THE official report of the Protectorate, which was published at the end of last year, states that the year under review was a very peaceful one. The resignation of Sir Frederick Lugard as High Commissioner was one of its most important events, Sir Percy Girouard having been appointed to succeed him. The report is drawn up by Mr. William Wallace, the Deputy High Commissioner, who regards the change as "marking the conclusion of the pioneering, and the commencement of the development stage of the Protectorate." Sir Frederick Lugard's strong anti-slavery opinions are well known, as are also the zeal and energy with which he has attacked the slavery problem in Northern Nigeria. We hope and believe that there will be no change in this anti-slavery policy under the new High Commissioner.

The following reports from the various provinces, under the heading of "Slavery," show that the trade in slaves has been watched with great care, and in many provinces is said to have almost ceased, while the domestic slavery difficulty appears to be passing away.

SLAVERY.

SOKOTO.

The Native Courts of the Sokoto Province have freed 106 Slaves during

* Cd. 3729-15.

the year. The total number of slaves freed during the year is 113, as against 45 for 1905.

Traffic in slaves has almost ceased, and what still exists is carried on by traders travelling from province to province. The Serikin Muslimin has done everything in his power to assist the Resident to carry out the policy of the Protectorate. He invariably supervises the Native Courts in dealing with slavery questions, as he is only too well aware of the fact that the sympathies of the courts must still, naturally, be with the masters.

KABBA.

Eight slaves were freed during the year in this Province. Lokoja appears to be the destination of many slaves. They are brought down more especially from Yola, by way of the Benue River. Special attention has been given to this traffic, but with variable success so far, the cases being extremely difficult of detection.

BAUCHI.

Much information has been acquired during the year as to the slave trade and the bush route followed by the Kano slave caravans. The districts of Waja, Tula, and Tangale have been visited, and are now partially under control. These districts have, for some years past, supplied a very great number of slaves for the Kano markets. These proceedings are now conducted with the greatest secrecy, and not, as was formerly the case, in the open markets. The town of Aquiam, which is situated in the north of Bauchi Province, was an important slave market for Bornu and Kerrakerre slaves; this town, which is under the Emir of Bauchi, has always maintained a state of semi-independence, and was not thoroughly controlled until this year. It can safely be asserted that the slave trade in Aquiam district has now practically ceased. The Ningi district has continued to trade in slaves this year, and slaves are sold to Kano traders, both at Ningi town and various Wurji towns. This trade is being effectively checked. A common practice in Ningi was for a man to strip and sell his brother to Kano traders. The latter would escape in the course of a week, and share his purchase-money with his brother. I am credibly informed that these fraudulent sales have done much to deter the Kano slave buyers from purchasing in Ningi. There can be no doubt that the famines in the Waja, Tula, Tangale, and Ningi pagan districts were responsible for a revival of the slave trade, and that the good crops of the year would make it difficult in any case for Kano traders to purchase pagan children to any great extent.

The Alkali's Court of Bauchi and the Native Administration have assisted actively in the suppression of the slave trade. Cases of redemption have been common during the year, amounting to a total of 39 cases. The slaves redeemed are mostly females, who are married by the redeemer. A certain number of slaves are, however, redeemed by their relations, probably escaped slaves who have earned money as soldiers and carriers. The lot of

domestic slaves has, undoubtedly, improved, and complaints of cruelty on the part of a master are rare.

BASSA.

Forty-nine slaves were freed in the province during the year.

NASSARAWA.

The total number of slaves freed in the Nassarawa Province during the year was six. Special attention has recently been paid to the slave traffic on the Benue River, and though there have been secret service agents watching, so far it has been impossible to intercept any gangs.

KONTAGORA.

As regards slavery, this Province is peculiar. The one constant complaint of the ruling class is that they have no slaves. The power of the Fulani was so utterly broken when the Kontagora was taken by the Government troops, that thousands of slaves took that opportunity to make their escape. They have since been gradually returning to the villages from which they were originally raided, and are settling down to farming, thus slowly increasing the population. The few slaves that remain to the upper classes seem contented as such. No complaint has ever been made asking for freedom on account of ill-treatment. They look upon their masters as the head of the family, and many raise families without ever wishing to change their condition, knowing that under Government rule they are safe from ill-treatment or disposal by barter.

ZARIA.

The number of slaves freed during the present year is 145. The majority of these received their freedom through ransom before the Native Courts, and complaints about runaway slaves have been fewer than formerly. The instances which have come to light of slave-dealing have been few, and those mainly among the pagan tribes some distance from Zaria. It is unquestionable that pagans find the selling of a slave, whether a criminal or so-called witch, or a child, as a convenient form of raising money to pay a debt or tax, and do not, therefore, appreciate in its entirety the law regarding slave-dealing.

ILORIN.

Five slaves were liberated in this Province during the year. The Resident informs me that it is very rare for slave cases to appear before the Court. Domestic slaves form a great part of the population, but they appear happy and contented, and have no desire to escape from bondage.

MURI.

In this Province the number of convictions and number of persons freed by order of the courts alike shows a steady decrease in the slave traffic, so prevalent in this Province up to 1904. It is the opinion of the Resident (Captain F. H. Ruxton) that the through river traffic in slaves

has ceased, or almost so. As regards domestic slavery, the attitude of the Government on the subject is now well understood. The number of slaves freed during 1906 was 41.

NUPE.

The total number of slaves freed in the Nupe Provincial Court during the year was 31, as against 9 in 1905. On the whole there have been fewer complaints of the desertion of slaves from their masters than last year.

YOLA.

Fifty-four slaves were freed during the year in Yola Province; of this number, 32 were freed by the Provincial Court, 3 demanded their freedom, and 15 were found on various roads by police patrols, the owners having decamped at the appearance of the police, and 4 were released by the deaths of their masters. Four hundred and forty-eight have been released altogether since the inauguration of this Province, and the Resident (Mr. G. N. Barclay) reports that slave-dealing is showing a marked decrease, and the Benue traffic from the Gongola and Bassem Districts, due to the famine, has now been almost suppressed owing to a Political Officer being available to supervise these districts.

KANO.

Although the traffic in slaves in the Kano Province is yearly on the decrease, still the fact cannot be disguised that it still exists, and, as stated by Dr. Cargill in 1905, this crime is specially prevalent along the Kano-Ningi frontier.

During the year under review, it was found to be an impossibility to take charge of this district permanently, but occasional visits were paid to it, and through co-operation with the Resident, Bauchi, some considerable amount of good was done in the matter of punishing offenders and restoring captives to their homes.

BORNU.

Since the inauguration of the Bornu Province in 1902, 1,282 slaves were freed, of which number 289 were freed during 1906. Most of them were settled at "Liberty Farm," the name given to the settlement started for freed slaves too old or unsuitable for the Home, but not fit for being at large in a strange land with a strange language, and whom it is impossible to repatriate. Seventy-three per cent. of the number freed during 1906 were importations from French and German territory. The actual trade in slaves in the province is small, and is steadily decreasing. Very few seizures have been made during the past nine months in spite of all possible precautions, and the through trade must be considered satisfactorily small; however, while foreign markets are open in the north, and if famines recur, there will be traders ready to run the greatest risks.

FREED SLAVES' HOMES.

The Homes at Bornu and Zungeru have been kept up, and the above-

mentioned "Liberty Farm" was established for adults who were brought in from foreign territory in great numbers, mostly pagan savages from the Shari basin. The maintenance of the Bornu Home depends upon the number of "raw" slave children imported. The hope is expressed that the present inmates can soon be drafted into "Liberty Farm," in which the settlers almost support themselves by mat-making, thatching, fuel-collecting and farming. At the Zungeru Home, the mortality has decreased, and elementary education has been carried on. It is hoped that a new home will be shortly opened at Ibi in the Muri Province as a memorial to the late Mrs. Karl Kumm (*née* Lucy Guinness), where young freed slave-children will receive an agricultural, industrial and religious training. The pagan tribes in this province are said to be much given to selling their children to Mahommedan traders, so that the institution will be especially useful.

SENUSSISM.

The report contains a chapter on the subject of this Mohammedan movement, as to which there exists a wide difference of opinion, the whole matter being surrounded by a good deal of mystery. While the head of the African Department in the French Colonial Office thinks there is not much to be feared from Senussism in West Africa, and some of the officials in Northern Nigeria agree with him, other authorities regard it as a serious and increasing danger. Some alarming rumours have gained currency as to this mysterious Moslem organization, which is believed by some to ramify all over Africa. But the danger does not appear to threaten Northern Nigeria, the movement being more to the north-east, in the neighbourhood of Lake Chad. Wadai is said to be the only really independent and powerful state where the people have embraced Senussi tenets, and the pressure of France on Wadai is the main cause of the present activity among the Senussi. We have recently heard of the slave-trading carried on by this sect in the interior of the Soudan for Tripoli, along the only road open for them to the outer world. At present their efforts to establish friendly relations with Darfour in the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan seem to have been unsuccessful.

White Slavery in the United States.

SOME strange developments of the Peonage system have been described in the *Chicago Tribune*, from which it appears that foreign immigrant labourers can be practically enslaved by a State Law of Mississippi. The danger of the influx of immigrants being checked by the disclosures has

caused them to be hushed up as much as possible, but official investigation has been going on for some time, and several prosecutions have been instituted. The records of the State Department and the Department of Justice are said to be full of instances of Peonage.

We print here a letter on this subject which the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society addressed to the *Spectator*, which was printed but not published, having been crowded out owing to pressure on space.

THE CONVICT-LEASE SYSTEM IN AMERICA.

[To the Editor of the "*Spectator*."]]

SIR,—A few months ago you devoted an article in the *Spectator* to the Convict-leasing system in the Southern States of America, in which you commented on painful facts which have been made known as to the treatment of convicts and the Peonage system in many States, with especial reference to a pamphlet by Mrs. C. O. Keeler, published last year in Washington. It may be of interest to you to know that the writer of that pamphlet, from whom I have lately received several letters, has felt greatly encouraged by the interest taken in the subject in England, and by the sympathy which she has received in her efforts to bring these wrongs to light. The opinions of Englishmen on American institutions are regarded with considerable interest on the other side of the Atlantic, and are not without influence. Having given many years to close investigation of the prison systems and treatment of crime in the Southern States, this lady is deeply impressed by the ignorance which prevails on these matters in the States, notably among Members of Congress. "The subject is so unpleasant and so unwelcome that most people will not hear about it." At the same time, the rapid increase of crime in the South is causing a general alarm, and men's eyes are being opened to the fact that something is profoundly wrong. An article in the *Chicago Tribune* of November 29th last gives a remarkable account of the system of Peonage which, the writer says, has always existed more or less among coloured people in the South; but it has now become known through complaints lodged by foreign Governments, such as those of Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, Russia, and Portugal, that very many foreigners brought over by the representations of immigration agents are actually white slaves held in bondage to-day. A law of the State of Mississippi provides that an agricultural labourer who fails to fulfil the letter of his contract may be "held to service" by his employer, and unless he will work out his indebtedness he may be convicted by summary process and sent to the chain-gang. Under this law Italian immigrants, who are ignorant of the English language, and are therefore unable to understand the terms of the contract into which they have been

induced by the immigration agents to enter, have been put to work in the chain-gang. "Men have been captured on the streets of a Mississippi city in open daylight by an armed planter, transported across the river to Arkansas, and put to work there under a guard of men armed with rifles. All of this was legal, according to local law, although it is in direct violation of the laws of the United States." Some sensation has been caused by the prosecution of the head of an important plantation in Arkansas employing a thousand men, nearly all foreigners, by a lady lawyer, who has acted as special assistant to the Attorney-General and has done valuable work in following up cases and instituting prosecutions. The danger of "affronts to foreign Powers," to which you referred in your article in August as arising out of this system, would thus seem to be a very real one. A high authority on criminology in America has declared that the ignorance in the Southern States of these abuses is so great that it is useless to try to bring about reforms. The people of the North and the outside world should be informed, and he expresses faith in what can be effected by making their existence known among other nations. But from whatever quarter redress of these wrongs (which are essentially developments of the principle of slavery, fed by race prejudice and greed) may be sought, the ultimate movement of reform must be from within. After the deplorable race riots in 1906 in Atlanta, Georgia, the better citizens, both white and coloured, met together, determined to bring about an improved state of things, and a far-reaching reform movement is said to have resulted which is regarded by some prominent friends of the negro as being of the utmost significance and promise for the future. Is it not possible that if the facts were fully known and realised in America some such spontaneous united moral impulse as this might avail to attack, and eventually overcome, even the deeply rooted abuses of Convict-leasing and Peonage?

I am, Sir, &c.,

TRAVERS BUXTON, *Secretary.*

Referring to the Crittenden case mentioned above, the *Chicago Tribune* says:—

"The system is as old and as familiar as it is unfair. The men were brought over as a result of solicitations sent out to immigration agents by the State of Mississippi. These people were men, women, and children, who probably would have come to the United States anyway, but they would have landed at New York, Boston, or Baltimore, and would have settled somewhere in the north. If left to themselves they never would have gone to Mississippi.

"In many if not all cases passage money was advanced to them and they were specifically promised work in direct violation of the contract labour law. On arriving in Mississippi they were assigned to Sunnyside

plantation without any possibility of a choice on their part. There they were compelled to sign contracts by which they were to work out gradually the amount of their passage money. They were given leaseholds or were employed direct, but in either case their indebtedness to the proprietor of the plantation was plainly set out. In most cases the foreigners were compelled through force of circumstances to deal at plantation stores, and a great many of them were soon in debt on the planters' books.

"This is where the Mississippi law stepped in. It gives an employer authority to seize a runaway 'agricultural servant' who happens to be in debt and bring him back to the plantation by force. The validity of the debt, its amount, and similar details are not at first fixed by the court."

Countercharges of a vague kind have lately been brought by interested parties against Mrs. Mary Quackenbos, the lady lawyer above referred to, and the writer in the *Chicago Tribune* states that the representatives of foreign Governments have been pressing for vigorous investigations to be made as to "whether there are not many hundreds of foreigners who are actually in a state of Peonage to-day in Mississippi and other Southern States."

Native Affairs in Natal.

BRIEF reference was made, in the Annual Report of the Society, to the Natal Native Affairs Commission, which issued an important and significant report last year signed by the seven Commissioners. This document has since been published as a Parliamentary Paper* in this country.

The Commission which was appointed in 1906 to investigate native policy and administration made an extensive inquiry, no less than 34 places having been visited, and evidence received from 301 Europeans and 906 natives and others. The report begins by expressing the opinion that "the chasm between the races has been broadening for years, and that the attitude of the natives is now one of distance and distrust," and goes on to point out, in forcible language, the lamentable series of mistakes which has been made, and also the vague, vacillating, and unsympathetic character of the native policy pursued, which has led to a general feeling of unrest. Among the chief complaints are mentioned the demand for compulsory service on public works, and the disintegration of the tribal and family systems. In Zululand the Commissioners say that the condition and temper of the natives are more satisfactory, but the

* Cd. 3889.

alienation of their lands for European occupation is "a policy which undoubtedly contains the germs of unrest." The "struggle for land" is "simply the struggle for life," and the report presses for a closer settlement and more beneficial use of the native reserves, both in Natal and Zululand.

The dissatisfaction of the natives is said to be general, and past efforts to reconcile them and convert them into an element of stability and strength, are reluctantly pronounced "weighed and wanting."

The Commission accordingly urged that the whole scheme of native administration should be earnestly re-considered, for "mere palliatives will not suffice." The plan which they put forward is one of personal rule, of "a benevolent despotism," on the ground that the natives cannot understand or respect an abstract impersonal system.

" . . . It cannot be too strongly urged that a restoration of a feeling of confidence, as well as dependence, are essential elements in the future of the country. The sole way of attaining that end is by giving proof that the ruling race is much more concerned with improving than exploiting them. . . . Let it be shown that the Government acts as a benevolent and sympathetic father, and not as a complicated machine, and the distrust and resentment which now exist will speedily be replaced by feelings of trust and mutuality of interest."

It is recommended that a Native Council of seven be appointed with extensive powers, and four Commissioners. The tribal system, which is recognised as a necessary institution for some time to come, is to be gradually and cautiously undermined by the spread of education and industrial habits and other means.

The proposals for future government of the natives are then given in the Report in detail; amongst them we may notice provisions for education and training in industry; for the limitation of interest, for safe-guarding the natives in regard to their labour, for the cessation of further alienation of land in Zululand, and the strict reservation of all locations and reserves for native occupation. Further, it is advised that a substitute should be found for compulsory labour, "the full force of modern public opinion being strongly opposed to the constraint of labour in any form," and generally that natives should be treated with more attention and courteous consideration at all public offices.

The Natal Government appear as yet to have taken no action on the Report, but a strong Committee was formed, as the result of a public meeting in Durban, to urge the Government to carry out its recommendations. These have assumed additional importance from the recent trouble in Zululand, in regard to which a voluminous Blue Book* was published

* Cd. 3888.

in January, containing many despatches and lengthy enclosures from Natal, chiefly bearing on Dinuzulu, and repeatedly urging his arrest and deportation as the only means of securing peace. This is the monotonous strain which runs through the whole correspondence, and although a change is noticeable in the attitude of the Governor when Sir Matthew Nathan assumed that office in September last, the Natal Ministers continued to press for the immediate removal and arrest of the chief, against whom nothing actually incriminating could be brought. In reply to a telegram from the Governor in September, urging the arrest of the chief and asking for Imperial troops, Lord Elgin telegraphed that the step proposed was very serious, involving the Government in direct responsibility for native affairs, the mismanagement of which had been made clear by the report of the Commission; the Colonial Secretary, therefore, asked for a full report to show that the proposed action was absolutely necessary. A month later he telegraphed as follows:—

“The evidence in Dinuzulu's case appears weak in itself, and insufficient to support the conclusions at the end of Sir C. Saunders's Minute. . . .

“But my chief criticism is that the Native Affairs Commission Report is entirely set aside, or at any rate postponed, while another inquiry into questions of complicity in the late rising, to be again followed by a course of repressive action, is undertaken.

“I do not think that His Majesty's Government can possibly become parties to such a policy, or defend it in Parliament.

“On the other hand, His Majesty's Government would, I think, be prepared to concur in the policy of inquiry, and, if necessary, to move troops, if the inquiry was to be into the best means of securing the peace of the country, including the redress of grievances, and if the Natal Government will pledge itself to do its best, in consultation with His Majesty's Government, to carry out the reforms recommended by the Commission.”

A few weeks later, Martial Law was proclaimed in Zululand on the unanimous advice of the Ministers, the Governor considering the proclamation premature. The Colonial Secretary associated himself with Sir M. Nathan in this position, and urged the withdrawal of martial law as soon as possible. Dinuzulu's voluntary surrender was reported on December 9th, and at the end of the year the Governor wrote expressing the reasons which he had urged on the Ministers for proclaiming an amnesty and releasing the prisoners taken in the rebellion of 1906. He also announced his intention of making a tour in Zululand, which has since been carried out.

Asiatics in the Transvaal.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPER.*

THIS Blue Book contains the text of the two Acts of last year restricting Asiatic immigration into the Transvaal, and correspondence thereon from April, 1907, until January of this year.

More satisfactory than anything in this book is the news which came from Johannesburg at the end of January that a compromise or settlement had been reached between the Transvaal Government and the Asiatics, on the basis of voluntary registration by the latter within three months, those registering to be exempted from penalties, while the demand for finger prints is to be waived in the case of educated persons and property-owners; Asiatics who had left the Colony, having previously registered, are to be allowed to return.

Thus this difficult question, in which two opposing and almost irreconcilable points of view have to be considered, is temporarily settled, but it is difficult to think, after reading the various despatches in the Blue Book, that the Home Government has played a strong part. The question at issue was admittedly not the policy of restricting Asiatic immigration into the Transvaal, which all parties seem to accept as inevitable, but the stigma of compulsion attaching to the Acts, and their whole spirit, which was felt to irritate and insult Asiatics as such, classing educated men of good social standing along with the lowest class of coolies. This point was emphasized by Mr. Morley in his important despatch in October, in reply to Lord Elgin's request for his views. He could not agree that the Act could be regarded as similar to laws already sanctioned in other self-governing Colonies; a new principle was introduced by the clause which would keep out of the Transvaal British subjects who would be free to enter any other Colony by passing educational tests, *e.g.*, members of learned professions and graduates of European universities of Asiatic origin. Mr. Morley repeated his objections in a later letter, in which he stated that the Government of India "while strongly opposed to the principle of the Bill, recognize that His Majesty's Government must decide the question by considerations other than the interest of British Indian subjects." But he added,

"It is unnecessary to point out to Lord Elgin the unfortunate effect upon public opinion in India which must be produced by the present Bill. The very peculiar circumstances of the Transvaal have been held to justify during the period of administrative reconstruction, exceptional measures for

* Cd. 3887.

dealing with the influx of immigrants; but Mr. Morley did not understand, when the provisions of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act were under discussion, that the forthcoming Immigration Restriction Bill would be so framed as to perpetuate the exclusion from the Colony of all future Asiatic immigrants without distinction.

"For these reasons I am to say that Mr. Morley trusts that Lord Elgin will find it possible to impress upon the Government of the Transvaal the very strong objections, from an Imperial point of view, which stand in the way of the acceptance of Section 2 (4) of the Bill."

However, after obtaining an assurance that distinguished Indian visitors would not be shut out from the Colony, the Secretary for India did not press his objections to the Bill.

In the despatch of May 9th, in which Lord Elgin explained his reasons for not disallowing the Asiatic Law Amendment Act, he stated that His Majesty's Government wished it understood that "they do not consider the position of Asiatics lawfully resident in the Transvaal, as settled by this Act, to be satisfactory," but they did not feel justified in resisting "the general will of the Colony, clearly expressed by its first representatives." This was held to differentiate the case from that of the almost identical Ordinance of 1906, passed in the last session of a nominated Legislative Council, which the Government had disallowed. Lord Elgin referred to the strong feeling aroused by the finger-print method of identification, and stated that he had discussed it personally with General Botha, who would, he understood, try to provide other methods which could not be considered degrading by persons registering. This the Colonial Secretary recommended as "an opportune concession to Indian sentiment," which would go far to remove the impression of harshness from the Act.

From the subsequent correspondence, it appears that Lord Elgin's hope was not realized, for when Lord Selborne forwarded a minute from his Ministers defending the finger-print system of identification, and declaring that there was no alternative to its adoption, the Colonial Secretary gave way. The points arousing most opposition in the Immigrants' Restriction Bill (which Lord Elgin refused to sanction by telegraph, without seeing it, as Lord Selborne had suggested in a telegram of July last, in order "to avoid delay") were the definition of "prohibited immigrants" under the Act, and the provisions for the deportation, at their own expense, of "dangerous persons," and of all persons who might fail to comply with an order to leave the Colony. In asking for an expression of Sir Edward Grey's views on the second of these powers, which Lord Elgin considered "dangerously wide," he proposed that the Colonial Government should be required to limit this power to persons convicted of some offence, or at least

to provide means of bringing such order of removal before the Courts. To this the Foreign Secretary agreed, adding the following observations:—

"I am to state that in Sir E. Grey's opinion the exercise by the Executive of powers which are ordinarily entrusted to the judiciary (who are accustomed to the investigation of cases according to the recognized rules of evidence) is calculated to give rise to friction with foreign States, who may be led to suppose—whether with or without reason—that their subjects have been treated with injustice.

"Sir E. Grey notes the statement of the Attorney-General of the Transvaal that 'the powers conferred will in each of the three classes of cases referred to be used with great discretion,' but he fears that no mere exercise of discretion will effectually prevent the possibility of conflicts with foreign States in particular cases affecting their subjects, with the result that the attitude of the Transvaal Government may be adversely criticized, with some show of reason, in the Imperial Parliament."

The telegram of November 27th, in which Lord Elgin conditionally sanctioned the Act, shows that the Government accepted it with considerable reluctance:—

"The Immigrants' Restriction Act, provisions of which are in some respects unusual, has received very careful consideration from His Majesty's Government. They note with some regret that your Ministers have not been content to rely on an education test for exclusion of undesirables and that practical effect of Section 2, Sub-section 4, will be to exclude all Asiatics, irrespective of their personal qualifications. In view of the past history of this question and the special circumstances of the Transvaal, they are nevertheless prepared to accept this provision, in the hope that exclusion of further Asiatic immigration will result in more favourable treatment of Asiatics now lawfully resident in the Colony. They assume that grant of temporary permits under Asiatic Law Amendment Act, Section 17, will not be discontinued, and they desire from your Ministers specific assurance that there is no intention of refusing access as visitors to ruling chiefs, Indians, of distinguished position, or high officials of Asiatic descent.

"By Section 6, Sub-section b, powers of expulsion of an unusually wide and unrestricted character applicable to foreigners and British subjects alike are conferred on the Executive. His Majesty's Government believe that no precedent for such powers exists in the legislation of any responsibly-governed dominion. Even the Peace Preservation Ordinance, passed under abnormal circumstances after prolonged war, does not confer actual power of expulsion. The exercise of such power by executive without intervention of judicial authorities is liable, in cases of subjects of foreign Powers, to give rise to very serious difficulties and, in case of British subjects, is contrary to traditional principles of policy. His Majesty's Government feel that these considerations have probably not been fully brought home to your Ministers, and hope that they will be prepared on reflection to put

some limit on power conferred by this sub-section on the Executive. They asked for assurance that legislation will be introduced limiting this power to persons convicted of some offence, or at any rate providing means by which any such order may be brought before Courts for confirmation or discharge, and that your Ministers will refrain from exercising this power pending such legislation.

"His Majesty's Government accept with some reluctance provisions of Section 6, Sub-section c, but they feel sure that discrimination will be exercised by your Ministers in employment of the powers conferred.

"If your Ministers can give the two specific assurances asked for His Majesty will not be advised to disallow the Act.—ELGIN."

The required assurances were given by the Transvaal Government in a telegram from the Governor, on December 3rd.

It is, happily, unnecessary, now that an agreement has been arrived at, to dwell further on the objections which were raised to these Acts by British Indians in the Transvaal and other South African Colonies, as well as those urged on behalf of Chinese subjects, though we may refer, in passing, to the petition of over 100 Indian ex-soldiers, who had been brought to the Transvaal in connection with the Transport Corps raised at the time of the Boer War. Their case was especially hard, as, according to their statement, "they were told by their officers that it would be possible for them, at the end of the war, to settle in any part of South Africa, and to receive honourable employment."

The general question of the British Indians formed the subject of an interesting debate in the House of Lords, on February 4th, when Lords Ampthill, Curzon, and other Peers criticised the Government for their policy in the matter. Lord Curzon made a good point in saying that there seemed to have been a strange lack of imagination on both sides in the controversy, and that without imagination, in his experience, any Oriental policy was sure to break down. The Government are confronted by two opposing principles, and it is a matter of great difficulty in such a case so to act as to avoid collision between them. It is extremely important, as Lord Curzon said, that the Government should see that "a good bargain is made for its own subjects in all our Colonies, and, the bargain once made, that the terms are not hastily or rashly altered at a later date to the detriment of the man who has staked his all on his acceptance" of these terms. Further, the restrictions should jar as little as possible on the religious and social susceptibilities of the Indian. Lord Roberts especially mentioned the requirement in the Act that a man should state the names of his wife and mother, the mention of female relatives being totally opposed to Indian custom. Lord Elgin assured the House, on

the authority of a letter from Lord Selborne, that all the disqualifications which were the subject of specific exception by the British Government *before the war* have been now removed. But, unfortunately, other important grievances still remain unredressed.

Slavery in the French Congo.

THE French Anti-Slavery Society has received a report on the condition of the native races in the Ubanghi basin and in the Chad territory, who are the victims of a vigorous trade by which human beings are exchanged for goods and arms. This is the new kind of slave raiding, and the tribes conquered become the slaves of the conquering race, the chiefs of which are called Sultans, who use them in their own service and for purposes of barter. It is they who supply the traders who come from the great Mussulman States around the Chad territory, Adamawa, Bornu, Sokoto, Darfour and Wadai; these traders are described as travelling freely through French territory carrying on their trade within range of the stations, and taking their caravans of porters who are slaves who have been torn from their homes.

Most of these territories, says the report, have been assigned to concessionaire Companies.

This is significant, and marks the deplorable difference of French policy in French Congo from that pursued in the rest of French West Africa. Some recent French writers, notably M. Auguste Chevalier in *L'Afrique Centrale Française*, have given a terrible description of the system which is at work, modelled on that of King Leopold in the Congo State, and its inevitable results. The case of the chief El Senussi at Ndelle is mentioned, where there is a French Resident and the representative of a *concessionaire* Company. El Senussi pays tribute to the Resident and trades in rubber and ivory with the Company; he raids for slaves in order to exchange them for cattle and to provide labour and porters, to supply French demands.

"Our *protégé*, the Sultan Senussi," writes M. Chevalier, "is a slave dealer . . . under our suzerainty. This army, for which he eagerly welcomes our gifts of rifles, is the instrument of his raids, whose object is the seizure of slaves. . . . It is sorrowful to think that the presence of a Resident at Ndelle involves France in the responsibility for his raids."

M. Chevalier says that the principal trade of Baghirmi has been the slave trade since 1900, the date of French occupation. The Sultan has

the monopoly of the trade (his subjects not being allowed to raid), and annually captures some 5,000 slaves, who are chained by the neck, and die of starvation in large numbers. Excessive taxation and levies, portorage, continuous fighting and raids have caused the depopulation of the country, and M. Chevalier prophesies that if the system is not totally altered and brought into line with French West Africa proper, the peoples will disappear altogether within fifty years, and "the desert will take possession of French Central Africa."

Freed Women Slaves at Tangier.

MR. HENRY GURNEY has received the following cash statement of this fund from Lady Lowther (the wife of the British Minister at Tangier). She states that two of the old women pensioners have died during the year, and as yet their places have not been filled. It will be noticed that the amount received from subscriptions was much smaller last year than in 1906, when they reached \$440.

FREED SLAVES' FUND.

For the Year 1907.

CR.		\$ Rvn.	DR.		\$ Rvn.
1906.			1907.		
Dec. 31	Balance brought forward	373 7	Dec. 31	Amount paid out in doles and petty expenses during the year	316 17
1907.					
Dec. 31	Subscriptions received during the year ended this day	243 9	Dec. 31	Balance in hand	299 19
		<u>\$616 16</u>			<u>\$616 16</u>

Balance carried forward to 1908 Account, \$299 19 Rvn.

Tangier, December 31st, 1907.

ALFRED IRWIN, *Hon. Treasurer.*

ALICE LOWTHER.

THE EGYPTIAN SOUDAN.

From a telegraphic report in *The Times* of Sir Eldon Gorst's recent tour in the Soudan, in the course of which he visited Khartoum, Port

Soudan, Suakin, and the Berber and Dongola provinces, we learn that "Sir Eldon Gorst considers that the progress, both material and moral, which has been effected since his last visit to those regions in 1901 is quite extraordinary, reflecting the greatest credit on Sir Reginald Wingate and the British and Egyptian officials. What struck him most was the hold which the British officers have acquired over the sympathies of the Sudanese and the complete confidence which exists between rulers and ruled throughout the country. 'The population,' Sir Eldon Gorst says, 'are learning to work efficiently, and a general desire exists for elementary technical education, which promises well for the future generation.'"

Obituary.

THE Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society has lost a much-respected member in Major-General Sir FREDERIC J. GOLDSMID, K.C.S.I., who died on the 12th of January in his ninetieth year. Of Sir F. Goldsmid's distinguished services in India (where he served under the old East India Company), Persia and Egypt, this is not the place to speak, but some of his work in Africa may be noticed. In 1877 he was appointed British representative of a commission to inquire into coolie emigration, which reported to the British and French Governments. In 1883 he went out on a mission to the Congo on behalf of the "International African Association," of the aims and purposes of which he, like so many others at that time, entertained high hopes. On his return from the West Coast he saw something on the Portuguese mail steamer of the trade in *serviçaes* for the islands of San Thomé and Príncipe, in regard to which he wrote: "If this be not slave traffic, I know not what is." It is not surprising that in 1884 he wrote in strong opposition to the treaty then proposed between England and Portugal with the object of handing over the mouth of the Congo to the latter Power. Sir F. Goldsmid was greatly interested in the work of the Society, the Committee of which he joined early in 1885, and although his great age prevented him latterly from attending the monthly meetings he frequently expressed his regret and interest in letters to the Secretary. He was present at the last annual meeting of the Society in March, 1907.

Mr. THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, who died on the 27th January at the age of 86, was one of the oldest friends of the Anti-Slavery Society, of which he had long been a staunch and generous supporter. It is needless to say that by his name and traditions Mr. Buxton was very closely

connected with the anti-slavery cause, being the second son of the first Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. He married a sister of Mr. Samuel Gurney, who was president of the Anti-Slavery Society for 18 years. Mr. Buxton was present last year in Westminster Abbey when the Centenary of the Act for abolition of the Slave Trade in British possessions was celebrated by a number of Africans.

Mr. FRANK M. SPENCE, who had for many years been a supporter of the Society, and who took part in its deputation to Lord Rosebery in favour of the retention of Uganda in 1892, died suddenly on the 29th of December last.

RESIGNATION.

WE regret to announce that Mr. JOHN MORLAND has felt obliged to resign his membership of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society on account of ill-health and the necessity of reducing his engagements.

NEW CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

WE are glad to announce that the Secretary of the French Anti-Slavery Society, M. le Baron JOSEPH DU TEIL, and the Secretary of the Italian Anti-Slavery Society, Comm. Avv. ATTILIO SIMONETTI, have allowed us to add their names to the list of Corresponding Members of our Society. These gentlemen were appointed at the instance of Mr. J. G. Alexander, who was brought into association with them in the work of the recent Anti-Slavery Congress at Rome.

TITLE AND INDEX.

COPIES of the title page and index for binding with Vol. XXVII. of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* (1907) may be obtained on application at the Society's office.

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE
Annual General Meeting

OF
SUBSCRIBERS AND FRIENDS

WILL BE HELD AT ITS OFFICES,

51, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.

(Near Victoria Station).

ON

FRIDAY, APRIL 3rd, 1908,

At 4 p.m.

CHAIRMAN:—

Sir T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., G.C.M.G. (President),

SUPPORTED BY

Rt. Hon. LORD MONKSWELL,

Sir ALBERT SPICER, Bart., M.P.,

Rev. LAWSON FORFEITT, NOEL BUXTON, Esq.,

(B.M.S. Secretary on the Congo for 18 years).

ETC.